



A Quantitative Approach to the Wealth of Ottoman Women

Osmanlı Kadınlarının Servetine Nicel Bir Yaklaşım

Sema Keleş Yıldız*



*Res. Asst. Dr., Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University,
Faculty of Economics and Administrative
Sciences, Department of Economics, Rize,
Türkiye

ORCID: S.K.Y. 0000-0001-6096-3798

Corresponding author/Sorumlu yazar:
Sema Keleş Yıldız,
Recep Tayyip Erdoğan University, Faculty
of Economics and Administrative Sciences,
Department of Economics, Rize, Türkiye
E-mail/E-posta: sema.keles@erdogan.edu.tr

Submitted/Başvuru: 03.09.2024
Revision Requested/Revizyon Talebi:
04.10.2024
Last Revision Received/Son Revizyon:
27.10.2024
Accepted/Kabul: 21.11.2024

Citation/Atf:

Keleş Yıldız, Sema. "A Quantitative Approach to the Wealth of Ottoman Women." *Tarih Dergisi - Turkish Journal of History*, 85 (2025): 125-161.
<https://doi.org/10.26650/iutd.1542791>

ABSTRACT

This article quantitatively examines women's wealth in İstanbul in the first half of the 18th century, using inheritance records extracted from İstanbul Court Registers. This study aims to analyze the economic status of women and the factors influencing them based on wealth-related data. This study starts with a general assessment of the wealth distribution in İstanbul in the first half of the 18th century, followed by an interpretation of individual wealth by gender. The present study also tries to explain the gender wealth gap (GWG) by linking it to the sources of women's wealth. Additionally, it attempts to profile wealthy women, examine their wealth sources and components, and assess the relationship between titles and wealth. In the present study, quantitative findings were interpreted statistically, supported by qualitative findings. In addition, Mann-Whitney U and Kruskal-Wallis H tests were applied to determine whether there is a statistically significant difference between gender-wealth, debt-wealth, and title-wealth variables. As a result, it is concluded that women's limited sources of wealth accumulation play a crucial role in creating a gender wealth gap between women and men in high-wealth groups; the level of borrowing by gender influences the difference in the gender wealth gap between total and net wealth, and a significant relationship exists between women's title and their wealth.

Keywords: Gender Wealth Gap, Woman, Wealth, İstanbul Court Registers, Inheritance Records

JEL-Codes: N00, N35, D31

ÖZ

Bu makale, İstanbul Şer'iyye Sicillerinde (İŞS) bulunan tereke kayıtlarını kullanarak 18. yüzyılın ilk yarısında İstanbul'da kadınların servetini nicel olarak incelemektedir. Çalışma, kadınların ekonomik durumunu ve bu durumu etkileyen faktörleri servete ilişkin verilerle analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. 18. yüzyılın ilk yarısında İstanbul'daki servet dağılımının genel bir değerlendirmesiyle başlayan çalışma, bireysel servetin cinsiyete göre yorumlanmasıyla devam etmektedir. Çalışma aynı zamanda cinsiyet servet farkını kadınların servetlerinin kaynaklarıyla ilişkilendirerek açıklamaya çalışmaktadır. Ayrıca, varlıklı kadınların profili, servetlerinin kaynakları ve bileşenleri incelenmekte; unvanlar ile servet arasındaki ilişki değerlendirilmektedir. Çalışmada nicel bulgular nitel bulgularla desteklenerek istatistiksel olarak yorumlanmış, ayrıca cinsiyet-servet, borç-servet ve unvan-



servet deęiřkenleri arasında istatistiksel aıdan anlamlı bir fark olup olmadığı Mann-Whitney U ve Kruskal-Wallis H testleri uygulanarak tespit edilmeye alıřılmıştır. Yapılan analizler neticesinde, kadınların servet birikim kaynaklarının erkeklere kıyasla sınırlı olmasının, yüksek servet gruplarında kadınlar ve erkekler arasında bir cinsiyet servet farkı yaratılmasında önemli bir rol oynadığı, cinsiyete göre borlanma düzeyinin toplam ve net servet arasındaki cinsiyet servet farkını etkilediğı ve kadınların unvanı ile servetleri arasında anlamlı bir ilişki olduėu sonuçlarına ulařılmıştır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Cinsiyet Servet Farkı, Kadın, Servet, İstanbul řer'iyye Sicilleri, Tereke Kayıtları

Introduction

In recent years, research on the economic lives of women in the Ottoman Empire has significantly increased. This increase has made Ottoman women's previously neglected economic conditions and activities more visible. One of the important criteria used in evaluating women's socioeconomic status is their wealth. Analyzing wealth levels and examining the components and sources of this wealth can be seen as an effective method for understanding women's economic and socioeconomic conditions.

This study presents various analyses of women's wealth using quantitative data obtained from the inheritance records in the İstanbul Court Registers (İŞS) from the first half of the 18th century. The results of these analyses are further explained and supported by qualitative data derived from the inheritance records. One of the objectives of this study is to calculate and explain the gender wealth gap (GWG) in 18th-century Ottoman İstanbul. The GWG refers to the inequalities in wealth accumulation between women and men. These inequalities are influenced by factors such as the state, family, society, and the market. The state directs wealth accumulation and control through property and family laws. Family and societal norms determine women's relationship with wealth, especially in regions with traditional inheritance systems. Market factors, particularly the labor market, affect women's wealth accumulation due to lower wages and career interruptions.¹ Additionally, inheritance and transfers from the family, the family of origin, earnings, savings, and investment strategies are factors that affect wealth accumulation and contribute to the GWG, as these factors influence how wealth is accumulated and distributed between individuals and genders.²

In recent years, the number of studies aiming to determine GWG and examine the factors influencing it has increased.³ One of the challenges encountered in GWG studies is the calculation of wealth at the household level.⁴ Therefore, wealth distribution is generally analyzed at the household level, and gender is often considered through the gender of the household head. However, feminist economists have demonstrated that household and individual well-being are not the same and that individuals living in the same household,

1 Carmen Diana Deere-Cheryl R. Doss, "The Gender Asset Gap: What Do We Know and Why Does It Matter?" *Feminist Economics*, 12/1-2 (2008), p. 12-13.

2 Erin Ruel-Robert M. Hauser, "Explaining the Gender Wealth Gap," *Demography*, 50/4 (2013), p. 1157.

3 Ruel and Hauser, *ibid.* p. 1155-1176; Deere-Doss, *op. cit.*, p. 105-120; Margaret Denton-Linda Boos, "The Gender Wealth Gap: Structural and Material Constraints and Implications for Later Life," *Journal of Women & Aging*, 19/3-4 (2008), p. 1-50; Eva Sierminska-Daniela Piazzalunga-Markus M. Grabka, "Transitioning Towards More Equality? Wealth Gender Differences and the Changing Role of Explanatory Factors Over Time," *Working Paper, SOEP Papers on Multidisciplinary Panel Data Research*, No.1050, Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW), Berlin 2010; Alyssa Schneebaum-Miriam Rehm-Katharina Mader-Katarina Hollan, "The Gender Wealth Gap Across European Countries," *The Review of Income and Wealth*, 64/2 (2018), p. 295-331; Angela Wang Lee, "The Gender Wealth Gap in the United States: Trends And Explanations," *Social Science Research*, issue 107 (2022), p. 1-19.

4 Wang Lee, *ibid.* p. 2.

including spouses, may have varying degrees of control over “household” resources.⁵ Therefore, the principle of separation of property between spouses in Islamic and Ottoman law⁶, along with the detailed recording of individuals’ wealth at the time of death in the inheritance records used in this study, provides a suitable basis for measuring the GWG.

Although there have been extensive studies on wealth in Ottoman society based on inheritance records, no study has explicitly defined the GWG or explored the factors that influence it. Most studies on Ottoman wealth typically treat gender as one of the variables in wealth inequality analysis, thus indirectly examining gender-based wealth disparities. This study, however, directly addresses the GWG in the Ottoman Empire and focuses specifically on women’s sources of wealth with a gender-specific approach to reveal the causes of this gap. Aiming to offer a new perspective in the literature, this study particularly focuses on the wealth of Ottoman women rather than merely treating it as a variable of wealth inequality. By adopting this approach, the study aims to reveal the distinct effects of gender on individual wealth. Furthermore, through a comprehensive analysis of the sources and components of the wealth of Ottoman women, this study aims to make a significant contribution to understanding their role in socio-economic life. Additionally, focusing on the wealth sources of Ottoman women, which can be considered key to revealing the factors influencing the GWG, is expected to provide further insight into women’s participation in economic activities, property rights, and social status in the Ottoman Empire.

In this context, focusing on gender as the primary concern, the present study aims to reveal the differences in individual wealth levels between men and women in Ottoman İstanbul in the first half of the 18th century. It also aims to explain the main causes of the GWG, with specific reference to the sources of wealth among Ottoman women, highlighting unique factors. Within this scope, this study addresses topics such as women’s wealth levels, the sources of their wealth, the components of their wealth, the profiles of wealthy women, and variables like titles and status that could affect women’s wealth. Statistical evaluations in this study were primarily conducted using quantitative data with the support of qualitative data. Moreover, the Mann-Whitney U test was used to determine the difference in wealth by gender, the difference in debt levels between men and women, and also the differences in wealth between women with the title “hatun” and those without any title. Furthermore, the non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis H test was used to determine if there is a significant relationship between the title groups of women’s spouses and the women’s wealth.

5 Deere and Doss, op. cit. p. 2.

6 Gül Akyılmaz, *İslâm ve Osmanlı Hukukunda Kadının Statüsü*, Göksu Ofset-Matbaa ve Mücellithane, Konya 2000, p. 39-41. (İslâm ve Osmanlı Hukukunda)

Literature Review

The inheritance records found within the court registers (Kadı Sicilleri) are among the primary sources frequently utilized in wealth studies. Since the late 1960s, these inheritance records and the valuable data they provide on Ottoman history have begun to draw the interest of Ottoman historians.⁷ Pioneering works carried out by scholars such as Ömer Lütfi Barkan⁸, Hüseyin Özdeğer⁹, and Said Öztürk¹⁰ come to the forefront thanks to their evaluations and analyses regarding the data that can be obtained from these records, offering valuable insights into what these records can contribute to the study of Ottoman history.

The number of specific studies carried out by using these inheritance records on topics such as wealth, prices, population estimation, debt-credit relations, family structure, polygamy, mehr, socioeconomic status and relationships, consumption, and saving habits is quite large. This long list exceeds the scope of this study, so these studies will not be discussed here. However, given that this study focuses on wealth and because it is one of the first studies to utilize inheritance records, it is necessary to mention Halil İnalçık's study titled "Sources for Fifteenth-Century Turkish Economic and Social History." The method used in his study, which categorizes the poor, middle-class, and wealthy people, was also used in this study to categorize social classes.¹¹

Studies on wealth in the Ottoman Empire sometimes focus on an individual's inheritance¹² or the wealth of a particular group (askerî 'tax-exempt military/administrative class' or reâyâ

- 7 Rossitsa Gradeva, "Towards a Portrait of 'The Rich' in Ottoman Provincial Society: Sofia in the 1670s," *Provincial Elite in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos, Crete University Press, Rethymno 2005, p. 149-199.
- 8 Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na Ait Tereke Defterleri (1545-1659)," *Belgeler*, 3/5-6 (1966), p. 1-479.
- 9 Hüseyin Özdeğer, *1463-1640 Yılları Bursa Şehri Tereke Defterleri*, İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Yayını, İstanbul 1988.
- 10 Said Öztürk, *İstanbul Tereke Defterleri*, OSAV, İstanbul 1995.
- 11 Halil İnalçık, "15. Asır Türkiye İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi Kaynakları," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 15/1-4 (1953-54), p. 51-75.
- 12 Yavuz Cezar, "Bir Âyan'ın Muhallefatı Havza ve Köprü Kazaları Ayamı Kör İsmail-Oğlu Hüseyin (Musadere Olayı ve Terekenin İncelenmesi)," *Belleten*, 41/161 (1977), p. 41-78; Jane Hathaway, "The Wealth and Influence of an Exiled Ottoman Eunuch in Egypt: The Waqf Inventory of 'Abbās Agha," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 37/4 (1994), p. 293-317; Suraiya Faroqhi, "Köle Sahibi ve Kırsal Tefeci Olarak Bir Yapı Ustası: Sefer Mimarı Bursalı Hacı Abdullah," *Osmanlı Dünyasında Üretmek, Pazarlamak, Yaşamak*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul 2003, p. 179-197; Suraiya Faroqhi, "18. Yüzyıl Bursa'sında Zengin Olmak: Debbâğ Hacı İbrahim'in Serveti," *Osmanlı Dünyasında Üretmek, Pazarlamak, Yaşamak*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, İstanbul 2003, p. 199-216; Mehmet Karagöz, "Ayıntab (Antep) A'yanı es-Seyyid el-Hac Mehmed Ağa bin es-Seyyid Battal Ağa'nın Terekesi," *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 19/2 (2009), p. 315-328.

‘taxpayers,’ Muslim or non-Muslim, men or women, rural or urban, etc.)¹³, whereas other studies in the literature are designed to provide information about the general population. It is noteworthy that studies in the third group generally focus on short periods and specific regions.¹⁴ However, in recent years, studies focusing on wealth in the Ottoman Empire have begun to be carried out by using data sets that cover long periods and wide geographic areas.¹⁵ Since the present study focuses on women’s wealth, it will modestly attempt to categorize and discuss some of the studies that contribute to this topic.

Studies on women’s wealth can be divided into two categories. The first category includes studies that generally focus on wealth and analyze gender as a variable. One significant study in this category is Rossitsa Gradeva’s work on Sofia inheritance records from the 1670s. In her study, Gradeva draws a portrait of wealthy men and women, citizens and villagers, Muslims and non-Muslims based on the Sofia records.¹⁶ Another study by Boğaç A. Ergene and Ali Berker focuses on the Muslim majority in 18th-century Kastamonu. This study examines wealth inequalities in title- and gender-based categories and suggests that individuals holding military/administrative and judiciary/religious titles tend to have better wealth conditions and that men have higher levels of wealth than women.¹⁷ Hülya Canbakal and Alpay Filiztekin, in their study covering Bursa, Diyarbakır, Kayseri, and Manisa between 1500 and 1840, examine inequalities through the variables of gender, title, and religion. As stated by the authors, gender and honorific titles are significant factors contributing to overall

- 13 Karl Barbir, “Wealth, Privilege and Family Structure: The Askarîs of 18th Century Damascus according to the Qassam Askari Inheritance Records,” *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Century, The Common and The Specific in the Historical Experience*, ed. Thomas Philipp, Stuttgart 1992, p. 179-195; Özlem Başarır, “Statü-Servet İlişkisi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme,” *History Studies*, 3/3 (2011), 49-67; Zeynep Dörtok Abacı-Jun Akiba-Metin Coşgel-Boğaç Ergene, “Judiciary and Wealth in the Ottoman Empire, 1689–1843,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 66/1-2 (2023), p. 43-84.
- 14 Colette Establat-Jean-Paul Pascual-André Raymond, “La mesure de l’inegalite dans la societe Ottomane: Utilisation de l’indice de Gini pour Le Caire et Damas vers 1700,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 37/2 (1994), p. 171-182; Boğaç A. Ergene-Ali Berker, “Wealth and Inequality in 18th-Century Kastamonu: Estimations for the Muslim Majority,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 40/1 (2008), p. 23-46; Hülya Canbakal, “Reflections on the Distribution of Wealth in Ottoman Ayntab,” *Oriens*, volume 37 (2009), p. 237-252; Pınar Ceylan, *Tracing A ‘Middle Class’: An Inquiry on the Ottoman City of Kayseri 17th and 18th Centuries*, Sabancı University Graduate School of Art and Social Science, Unpublished Master’s Thesis, İstanbul 2010; Metin M. Coşgel-Boğaç A. Ergene, “Inequality of Wealth in the Ottoman Empire: War, Weather, and Long-Term Trends in Eighteenth-Century Kastamonu,” *The Journal of Economic History*, 72/2 (2012), p. 308-331.
- 15 Hülya Canbakal-Alpay Filiztekin, “Wealth and Inequality in Ottoman Lands in the Early Modern Period,” *Rice University Conference on the Political Economy of the Muslim World*, 4-5 April 2013 (Wealth and Inequality); Hülya Canbakal-Alpay Filiztekin, “Wealth and Demography in Ottoman Probate Inventories: A database in very long-term perspective,” *Historical Methods*, 54/2 (2021), p. 94-127 (Wealth and Demography); Bora Altay-Koray Göksal-Hande Nur Kırmızıkuşak, “The Wealth of Ottoman Individuals by Different Socio-Economic Groups, 1650-1918: A Descriptive Analysis in the Context of Institutional Change,” *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Vizyoner Dergisi*, 13/33 (2022), p. 236-253.
- 16 Gradeva, op. cit. p. 149-199.
- 17 Ergene-Berker, op. cit. p. 23-46.

inequality. They note that the share of gender inequality in overall inequality increased in the 18th century in comparison to the 16th and 17th centuries.¹⁸

In his study on demography, wealth, and inequality using İstanbul inheritance records from the 18th century, Muhammet Bedrettin Toprak attempts to develop different approaches using the variables of religion, gender, title, and occupation.¹⁹ In his study focusing on the Ottoman material culture based on item lists in İstanbul inheritance records between 1785 and 1875, Fatih Bozkurt categorizes the poor, middle class, and wealthy people and offers insights through comparisons between Muslim-Non-Muslim, askerî-reâyâ, male-female, and rich-poor groups.²⁰ Another study in this category was carried out by Ali İhsan Karataş, who examined Bursa inheritance registers from the second half of the 18th century. His study first presents a classification of wealth groups as poor, middle-class, and wealthy people and then examines these wealth groups by religion and gender, focusing on the economic stratification of the Bursa population. The author notes that the proportions of women and men in the poor class are close, while women dominate in the middle class, and men have the upper hand in the wealthy group.²¹

The second category includes studies that directly address women's wealth and aim to obtain insights into women's social and economic roles based on data obtained about women's wealth. Among these studies, a prominent one is Haim Gerber's study on the position of women in the economic life of 17th-century Bursa, based on inheritance and other court records in the court registers. Although his study does not provide a detailed wealth assessment through inheritance records, it compares the wealth of women and men (grouping them as artisans, merchants, and the poor without occupation) based on average values from the periods 1600-1630, 1631-1670, and 1671-1700. Gerber shows that women were in a poor position compared to businessmen in Bursa, but they were in a much better condition in comparison to poor men and even male artisans, particularly in the last third of the 17th century.²²

Colette Estabiet and Jean-Paul Pascual examined the economic, cultural, and social status of women within the family structure in Damascus by analyzing 449 inheritance records from the early 18th century. Their study, which focuses on analyzing the assets that make up

18 Canbakal-Filiztekin, *Wealth and Inequality*.

19 Muhammet Bedrettin Toprak, *Osmanlı İstanbulu'nda Demografi, Servet ve Eşitsizlik: 18. Yüzyıl Tereke Defterlerinden Bir Analiz*, Marmara University Social Sciences Institute, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, İstanbul 2022.

20 Fatih Bozkurt, *Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddi Kültüründe Değişim (1785-1875 İstanbul Örneği)*, Sakarya University Social Sciences Institute, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Sakarya 2011.

21 Ali İhsan Karataş, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Bursa Halkının Ekonomik Yapısı," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 15/2 (2006), p. 231-264.

22 Haim Gerber, "Social and economic position of women in an Ottoman city, Bursa, 1600-1700," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 12/3 (1980), p. 231-244.

the estates of men and women, concludes that women in Damascus during the period under examination were five times poorer than men. Moreover, their study provides statistics on the components that constituted women's wealth.²³

Fatma Müge Göçek and Marc David Baer, on the other hand, present information regarding women's wealth based on the inheritance records they selected from the Galata Court Registers between the years 1705 and 1809. Besides providing information about the goods and properties that constitute women's wealth, the authors also present data on the average wealth and its distribution by religion and title. They noted that the average wealth of Muslim women was higher than that of non-Muslims and that the wealthiest Muslim women were typically the daughters or wives of individuals with the titles of Ağa, Çelebi, or Efendi. Furthermore, the authors aim to shed light on the role of women in Ottoman society by examining physical, communal, and legal spaces under separate headings.²⁴

Ş. Şule İyigönül Atasağun, in her study, examined the wealth of middle-class women in İstanbul through inheritance records from 1656-1676. Her study, using 591 women's inheritance records found in the first ten books of the abolished Beledi Kismet Court, aims to reveal the wealth accumulation, debt-credit relationships, property acquisition, and their relation to factors such as neighborhood, title, religion, and status.²⁵

This study, which can be categorized under the second category that necessitates further research in the literature, examines women's wealth based on quantitative and qualitative data derived from inheritance records of the first half of the 18th century. The present study also aims to contribute to the relevant literature by offering a different perspective on the wealth of Ottoman women through the lens of GWG.

Sources of the Study and Their Limitations

Among the most influential sources contributing to the increased visibility of Ottoman women in new historical writing are the court registers, which, through their inheritance records, allow for analyses considering variables such as gender, religion, ethnicity, and status. Inheritance records are among the most critical sources used in studies on wealth. The lack of sources containing valuable information on individuals' income and wealth status, such as the Land Registry Records (Tapu Tahrir Defterleri) from the 15th and 16th centuries or the Temettuat Registers from the 19th century, makes inheritance records much

23 Colette Establet-Jean-Paul Pascual, "Women in Damascene Families Around 1700," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 45/3 (2002), p. 301-319.

24 Fatma Müge Göçek-Marc David Baer, "18. Yüzyıl Galata Kadı Sicillerinde Osmanlı Kadınlarının Toplumsal Sınırları," *Modernleşmenin Eşiğinde Osmanlı Kadınları*, ed. Madeline C. Zilfi, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 2000, p. 47-62.

25 Ş. Şule İyigönül Atasağun, *17. Yüzyıl İkinci Yarısında Terekelere Göre İstanbul Kadınlarının Serveti (1656-1676 Yılları)*, Graduate School of İstanbul Medeniyet University, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, İstanbul 2023.

more significant for wealth studies conducted on the 17th and 18th centuries. Therefore, in this study, the primary sources used are the inheritance records obtained from ten İstanbul Court Registers (İŞS) from the first half of the 18th century.

In the inheritance records, all types of assets belonging to the deceased, such as houses, clothing items, real estate, animals, grain products, jewelry, cash, weapons, and books, were recorded with their monetary values specified. Additionally, the deceased's receivables, debts, wills, certain payments they were obliged to make, and even the fees and deductions taken during the registration of the inheritance are also included in these records. In light of this information, it is possible to determine the total and net wealth of individuals and reveal and evaluate the distribution of the assets comprising their wealth. Furthermore, although sometimes limited, the inheritance records provide an opportunity to discuss the effects of variables such as gender, religion, social status, and professions on wealth. However, despite offering very valuable qualitative and quantitative data, it is necessary to consider the limitations of these documents. One of these limitations is that inheritance records underrepresent certain social groups. Researchers such as Rossitsa Gradeva, Colette Establet, and Jean-Paul Pascual noted that the poor, women, children, non-Muslims, and those living in rural areas are recorded in smaller proportions in these records.²⁶

Another problem is whether the entire wealth of individuals is reflected in the inheritance records. Ömer Lütfi Barkan provided a list of possible reasons for this. These reasons include recording only the wealth carried by individuals who died while traveling for various reasons, transferring a part of their assets by the deceased during their lifetime through donation, gift, or endowment, acknowledgment of the excessive debt by heirs to receive a larger share, expenditures such as trousseau for daughters or circumcision for sons, not recording the slaves freed with *tadbîr*²⁷ and child-bearing concubines in the inheritance records, the impossibility of transferring double-rent properties (*icâreteynli mülkler*) and agricultural lands through inheritance and their exclusion from the records, and the seizure or concealment of part of the deceased's assets by certain individuals. Barkan also noted that qassams (the Sharia official responsible for dividing estates) might have exaggerated the wealth recorded to receive higher fees, but despite all these issues, he emphasized that inheritance records remain unique sources for obtaining information on individuals' wealth.²⁸

In this study, in addition to inheritance records from different districts of İstanbul such as Üsküdar, Galata, and Eyüp, the Kismet-i Askeriye registers were also used. The Kismet-i Askeriye registers mainly recorded the inheritances of individuals belonging to the askeri

26 Gradeva, op. cit. p. 153-162; Establet-Pascual, op. cit. p. 302-303.

27 "A term in Islamic jurisprudence that refers to the manumission of a slave dependent on the death of the owner." Fahrettin Atar, "Tedbir," *DİA*, XL, p. 258.

28 Barkan, op. cit. p. 75.

class.²⁹ Thus, the aim was to obtain a relatively homogeneous data set where all segments of society were included in the analysis to the extent that the sources allowed. Among the İŞS, three were randomly selected from Eyüp, three from Galata, three from Kısımet-i Askeriye, and one from the Üsküdar Courts. The transcriptions of the registers Nr. 138, 163, 175 from Eyüp, and register Nr. 59 from Kısımet-i Askeriye, published by ISAM as part of the *İstanbul Court Registers Project*, were utilized. The originals of the registers Nr. 241, 242, and 273 from Galata, the register Nr. 416 from Üsküdar, and the registers Nr. 80 and 91 from Kısımet-i Askeriye Court were used from the *İSTM İstanbul Müftülüğü* fund at the Ottoman Archives of the Presidency of the Republic of Türkiye Directorate of State Archives (BOA). Analyses were conducted on data obtained from a total of 523 inheritance records belonging to 336 males (64%) and 187 females (36%) from the years 1717, 1718, 1719, 1730, 1731, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1745, and 1746. The years 1718, 1731, 1735, and 1746, where the data were more clustered, were preferred in the analyses conducted by year.

Methodology

The wealth data are presented in terms of akçe for annual analyses and grams of silver for analyses that consider all years together to eliminate the effect of inflation. The silver content figures provided by Şevket Pamuk were used to determine the gram of silver per akçe.³⁰ Moreover, net wealth values were presented by subtracting debt information obtained from the *minhâ'l-ıhrâcat* section of the estates of deceased individuals, depending on the analysis. Initially, without distinguishing between genders, the groups belonging to the poor, middle-class, and wealthy were identified, and the percentage of women within these groups was determined across the years. Halil İnalçık's method to determine the poor, middle-class, and wealthy individuals in his article "15. Asır Türkiye İktisadi ve İctimai Tarihi Kaynakları" is used in this analysis. While categorizing the classes, İnalçık considered rich with a wealth of 10.000 akçe or more. And 10.000 akçe would buy 400 sheep or 70 tons³¹ of wheat. And he calculated the middle class and the poor accordingly.³² Şevket Pamuk's book "500 Years of Prices and Wages in İstanbul and Other Cities" was utilized for the wheat prices used in establishing the wealth groups.³³

In addition to categorizing the poor, middle-class, and wealthy individuals, it was aimed to reveal the GWG by comparing the average total wealth and average net wealth of men and women. The wealth groups were also evaluated by gender across quintiles, ranging from

29 Tahsin Özcan, "Muhallefat," *DİA*, XXX, p. 405.

30 Şevket Pamuk, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler*, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara 2000.

31 For converting kile into tons, see Walther Hinz, *İslâm'da Ölçü Sistemleri*, tran. Acar Sevim, Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul 1990, p. 51.

32 İnalçık, op. cit. p. 56.

33 Pamuk, op. cit.

low to high. Net wealth data were adjusted for inflation and calculated in grams of silver to determine the quintiles in which men and women were clustered across the entire data set. Finally, the relevant section aimed to identify whether there was a statistically significant difference between men and women in total and net wealth. Since the data for this analysis did not yield a normal distribution, the non-parametric Mann-Whitney U test was employed. The Mann-Whitney U test is a robust alternative to the parametric two-sample independent t-test, and it determines whether two independent samples come from the same population or whether the populations from which the samples were drawn are different. Its assumptions are as follows:

1. The sample data are measured at least at an ordinal scale level.
2. The sample data are continuous random variables.
3. The sample data are independent of each other.
4. The sample groups (clusters) are independent of each other.

The hypothesis sets for the test are formulated as:

$$H_0: M_1 = M_2$$

$$H_a: M_1 \neq M_2$$

The significance level of the test is $\alpha = 0.05$, and the data related to the n_1 and n_2 series in the test statistic are assigned ranking scores, starting with the smallest value of 1. Then, the U_1 and U_2 values are calculated.

$$U_1 = n_1 n_2 + \frac{n_1(n_2 + 1)}{2} - R_1 \quad U_2 = n_1 n_2 + \frac{n_1(n_2 + 1)}{2} - R_2$$

The smaller one of U_1 and U_2 is accepted as the U test statistic (R_1 indicates the sum of the ranks of the first sample, and R_2 indicates the sum of the ranks of the second sample). The mean and standard deviation of the U values are calculated using the following formulas:

$$\overline{X_U} = \frac{n_1 n_2}{2} \quad \sigma_u = \sqrt{\frac{n_1 n_2 (n_1 + n_2 + 1)}{12}}$$

Since U values exhibited normal distribution, the standard variable is transformed using the formula $z = \frac{U - \overline{X_U}}{\sigma_U}$. The statistical decision is made by comparing the obtained z-test statistic with the critical value of 1.96 at the 5% significance level or based on the p-value. If the p-value is less than 5%, then the null hypothesis (H_0) is rejected. Rejection of the null hypothesis indicates that the two independent samples come from different populations;

otherwise, they are interpreted as coming from the same population.³⁴ This test was applied to both total wealth and net wealth, and the following hypotheses were formulated:

H_{01} : There is no significant difference in total wealth between men and women

H_{a1} : There is a significant difference in total wealth between men and women

H_{02} : There is no significant difference in net wealth between men and women

H_{a2} : There is a significant difference in net wealth between men and women

Given the results obtained, a statistically significant difference was found between total wealth and gender, whereas there was no statistically significant difference between net wealth and gender. Therefore, the Mann-Whitney U test was again used to reveal the impact of debt, which is thought to influence the different results obtained for total and net wealth. For this analysis, the following hypotheses were formulated:

H_{03} : There is no significant difference in debt levels between men and women

H_{a3} : There is a significant difference in debt levels between men and women

Focusing on the sources and components of women's wealth, the subsequent section presents and interprets some data and statistics that may shed light on the present study's main questions.

The final section profiles the wealthiest women in the examined inheritance records. In this context, indicators such as whether the women were employed, who their husbands and fathers were, the neighborhoods they lived in, and the assets that constituted their wealth were used to identify the sources of their wealth. The same section also discusses the relationship between titles and wealth. Initially, the focus was on women's titles, with preliminary impressions presented using statistical data. Additionally, The Mann-Whitney U test was used to analyze whether there was a significant difference in wealth between women with the title "*Hatun*" and those without a title. The following hypotheses were formulated:

H_{04} : There is no significant difference in net wealth between hatun-titled and no-titled women

H_{a4} : There is a significant difference in net wealth between hatun-titled and no-titled women

However, since women's titles do not always indicate the social class to which they belong, the profiles of the top eight wealthiest women were primarily shaped by the titles of their

34 Erkan Işığçık, *Altı Sigma Kara Kuşaklar İçin Hipotez Testleri Yol Haritası*, Sigma Center Yönetim Sistemleri, Bursa 2005, p. 305-307.

fathers and husbands. Ergene and Berker's classification was used to categorize individuals as judiciary/religious titleholders (*efendi, molla, halife, şeyh, çelebi, and dede*), military/administrative titleholders (*ağa, beşe, bey*), and men without titles (males not affiliated with the military or religious establishments).³⁵ Moreover, *çavuşes* and *kethüdas* were added to the military/administrative titleholders as these are the titles for various positions in the military/administrative class³⁶ along with *odabaşıs, bostancıs, and reises*.³⁷ Although it is known that the title “*çelebi*” was used by individuals from different classes in different periods³⁸, following Ergene and Berker's classification, it is considered among the judiciary/religious titleholders, as both studies focus on the 18th century. Additionally, Table 13 separately presents the numbers of women whose fathers or husbands held the titles “*seyyid*” and “*el-hac*” and women without spouses (widows, single, or minors). After evaluating the statistics obtained by following this classification, the relationship between the titles held by women's husbands and women's wealth was analyzed using the Kruskal-Wallis H test. The Kruskal-Wallis H test is used to determine whether more than two independent samples come from different populations and is an alternative to one-way variance analysis (one-way ANOVA). The Kruskal-Wallis H test, a non-parametric variance analysis, was preferred because each dataset did not show a normal distribution. The assumptions of the test are as follows:

1. The sample data were obtained from k random samples of size n_1, n_2, \dots, n_k .
2. The sample data are independent within themselves.
3. The sample groups (clusters) are independent of each other.
4. The sample data are measured at least on an ordinal scale level.
5. The variable of interest is continuous.

The sets of hypotheses related to the test are;

$$H_0: M_1 = M_2 = \dots = M_k$$

$$H_a: M_1 \neq M_2 \neq \dots \neq M_k$$

The significance level of the test is $\alpha=0.05$. In the test statistic, all observation values related to the k samples are ranked, and a rank score is given, starting from 1 for the smallest

35 Ergene-Berker, op. cit. p. 24.

36 Cemal Kafadar, “Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century İstanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature,” *Studia Islamica*, issue 69 (1989), p. 142.

37 Gustav Bayerle, *Pashas, Begs, and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire*, The Isis Press, İstanbul 1997, p. 121, 23, 126.

38 Güçlü Tülüveli, “Honorific Titles in Ottoman Parlance: A Reevaluation,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 11 (2005), p. 19.

value. These rank numbers are substituted for the observation values, and the sum of the ranks for each sample is calculated to determine the R_j totals. The Kruskal-Wallis H statistic is calculated as follows with $n=n_1+n_2+\dots+n_k$:

$$H = \left[\frac{12}{n(n+1)} \sum_{j=1}^k \frac{R_j^2}{n_j} \right] - 3(n+1)$$

If there are values with the same score in the groups, the H test statistic is calculated as follows:

$$H_{adj} = \frac{H}{1 - \frac{\sum T}{n^3 - n}}$$

The statistical decision is made by comparing the calculated H test statistic with the critical chi-square value or according to the approach of $p < \alpha$. If the p-value is less than 5%, then the H_0 hypothesis is rejected. The rejection of the H_0 hypothesis indicates that the independent k samples come from different populations, while the failure to reject it suggests they come from the same population.³⁹ For this analysis, the following hypotheses were created for the groups of military/administrative titleholders, judiciary/religious titleholders, no-title holders, and el-hac titleholders formed according to the titles of the women's spouses:

H_{05} : There is no significant difference in women's total wealth among husbands' title groups

H_{a5} : There is a significant difference in women's total wealth among husbands' title groups

H_{06} : There is no significant difference in women's net wealth among husbands' title groups

H_{a6} : There is a significant difference in women's net wealth among husbands' title groups

Since there is not much difference between total wealth and net wealth for women, the Kruskal-Wallis H test was applied only to net wealth. Finally, the components that constitute the wealth of wealthy women and their weights in total assets were calculated and discussed.

Social Classes, The Distribution of Wealth, and Gender Wealth Gap

Before evaluating the data on women's wealth, it was attempted to classify social classes regardless of gender using İnalçık's method. Following this categorization, people are first divided into wealth groups: the poor, the middle-class, and the wealthy individuals. The percentages of women and men in each class are presented. The results are shown in the tables below:

39 İşığışık, op. cit. p. 310-313.

Table 1. The Poor, The Middle Class, and The Wealthy (in akçe)

Years	The Poor	Middle Class	The Wealthy
1718	< 21,309	≥ 21,309-213,089	≥ 213,089
1731	< 28,130	≥ 28,130-281,299	≥ 281,299
1735	< 19,372	≥ 19,372-193,717	≥ 193,717
1746	< 18,690	≥ 18,690-186,896	≥ 186,896

Considering the ranges given in Table 1, the percentages of total wealth are presented below:

Table 2. The Percentage of the Poor, the Middle-Class, and the Wealthy (Total Wealth)

Years	The Poor	Middle Class	The Wealthy
1718	50.5	45.9	3.6
1731	60.9	34.4	4.7
1735	36.4	50.9	12.7
1746	40.4	47.2	12.4

Sources: BOA, İŞS, Galata 241, Galata 242, Galata 273, Kismet-i Askeriye 80, Kismet-i Askeriye 91, Üsküdar 416; Eyüp Mahkemesi 138, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 163, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 175, ed. Yılmaz; Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59, ed. Yılmaz.

It can be seen in the classification by total wealth over the years that a large portion of the population belongs to the poor and middle class. In 1731, the percentage of the poor class reached its highest level at 60.9%. In 1735 and 1746, the middle class was larger, and the wealthy class expanded significantly. The difference in 1731 may be due to the reduced purchasing power of the people due to the famines and high wheat prices in İstanbul. The French ambassador of the period, Marquis de Villeneuve, mentions the increases in wheat prices and the difficulties experienced in his letters from 1729, 1731, 1732, and 1733, emphasizing the effects of the Persian Wars and the Patrona Halil Rebellion.⁴⁰ Moreover, considering the wheat prices provided by Şevket Pamuk⁴¹, prices in 1718, when the wars with Venice and Austria ended, were higher than in 1735 and 1746. Therefore, in 1718, similar to 1731, but with a smaller difference, the poor class was larger than the middle class. The following table presents calculations based on net wealth amounts:

40 Halil Sahillioğlu, *Bir Asırlık Osmanlı Para Tarihi 1640-1740*, İstanbul University Social Sciences Institute, Unpublished Associate Professorship Thesis, İstanbul 1965. p. 129-130.

41 Pamuk, op. cit.

Table 3. The Percentage of the Poor, the Middle-Class, and the Wealthy (Net Wealth)			
Years	The Poor	Middle Class	The Wealthy
1718	59.5	36.9	3.6
1731	64.1	32.8	3.1
1735	42.7	48.2	9.1
1746	48.3	39.3	12.4

Sources: BOA, İSS, Galata 241, Galata 242, Galata 273, Kismet-i Askeriye 80, Kismet-i Askeriye 91, Üsküdar 416; Eyüp Mahkemesi 138, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 163, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 175, ed. Yılmaz; Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59, ed. Yılmaz.

Compared to total wealth percentages, the net wealth classification indicates a contraction in the middle class. This provides information about the borrowing amounts and durations for individuals who make up the difference between total and net wealth. The year 1731, impacted by the Patrona Halil Rebellion, famines, and inflation, was when the middle class shrank the most in terms of both types of wealth, and the difference between total and net wealth was the smallest. The difference between total and net wealth was notably higher in 1718 and 1746, especially for the middle class. Furthermore, in 1746, differing from 1718, there was a shift from the middle wealth group to the wealthy class, which expanded significantly in net wealth across all years. However, the economic conditions of a larger part of society worsened compared to 1735.

Wars are likely to be the factors economically affecting the situation in 1718 and 1746. Wars are among the most important causes of budget deficits and financial crises, and the Ottoman Empire had to engage in many wars in both the West and the East between 1680 and 1750. In an attempt to regain the lands lost between 1683 and 1699, the Empire fought wars with Austria, Venice, and Russia until 1718, with Austria and Russia between 1737 and 1739, and with Iran between 1723 and 1746. The extension of the *cebelü bedeliyyesi* (cash equivalent for auxiliary soldier levy) obligation to include *malikane* estates, beyond the *timar* system, from the Prut War of 1711 and during the Iran Wars that lasted from around 1738 to 1746 can be seen as an indication of the financial difficulties and the need for additional budget revenue during this period.⁴²

Examining the distribution of wealth by gender within the classes will show whether there is a similar or different trend for both genders. To illustrate the situation of social classes by gender, the following two tables are presented:

42 Ahmet Tabakoğlu, *Osmanlı Mâli Tarihi*, Dergâh Yayınları, İstanbul 2016, p. 309, 435.

Table 4. The Percentage of the Poor, Middle-Class, and the Wealthy by Gender (Total Wealth)

Years	Women			Men		
	The Poor	Middle Class	The Wealthy	The Poor	Middle Class	The Wealthy
1718	73.0	24.3	2.7	39.2	56.8	4.1
1731	72.7	27.3	0	48.4	41.9	9.7
1735	40.0	52.5	7.5	34.3	50.0	15.7
1746	48.0	48.0	4.0	37.5	46.9	15.6

Sources: BOA, İŞS, Galata 241, Galata 242, Galata 273, Kısım-i Askeriye 80, Kısım-i Askeriye 91, Üsküdar 416; Eyüp Mahkemesi 138, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 163, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 175, ed. Yılmaz; Kısım-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59, ed. Yılmaz.

Table 5. The Percentage of the Poor, Middle-Class, and the Wealthy by Gender (Net Wealth)

Years	Women			Men		
	The Poor	Middle Class	The Wealthy	The Poor	Middle Class	The Wealthy
1718	71.1	26.3	2.6	52.7	43.2	4.1
1731	75.8	24.2	0	53.3	40.0	6.7
1735	40.0	52.5	7.5	44.3	45.7	10.0
1746	48.0	48.0	4.0	48.4	35.9	15.6

Sources: BOA, İŞS, Galata 241, Galata 242, Galata 273, Kısım-i Askeriye 80, Kısım-i Askeriye 91, Üsküdar 416; Eyüp Mahkemesi 138, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 163, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 175, ed. Yılmaz; Kısım-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59, ed. Yılmaz.

Examining both total and net wealth by gender, women were more clustered in the poor class in 1718 and 1731. Compared to other years, wars, famines, and price increases affected the individual wealth of women more. As for men's wealth, similar to the previous assessment, the gap between total and net wealth is more pronounced in the middle class in 1718 and 1746. Considering that net wealth is calculated as total wealth minus total debt, men appear to have incurred significant debts in these years.

The comparison between the average wealth of men and that of women can be used to determine whether there is a GWG for the sample in a study. Studies generally reveal that women's wealth is lower than men's and that gender significantly affects inequality.⁴³ To reveal the wealth gap, which is expected to increase towards the higher wealth groups, it is necessary to evaluate according to average wealth and then by quintiles. For this purpose, the table below presents the average total wealth and average net wealth figures by gender:

43 Estabiet-Pascual, op. cit. p. 303; Ergene-Berker, op. cit. p. 29; Eminegül Karababa, "Investigating Early Modern Ottoman Consumer Culture in the light of Bursa Probate Inventories," *The Economic History Review*, 65/1 (2012), p. 201; Canbakal-Filiztekin, *Wealth and Inequality*, p. 13-16; Emre Özer, "Osmanlı'da Unvanların Servet Üzerine Etkileri: Merkez ve Taşra Karşılaştırması (1800-1840)," *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 3/2 (2018), p. 52; Canbakal-Filiztekin, *Wealth and Demography*, p. 102.

Table 6. Total Mean Wealth and Net Mean Wealth by Gender

	Gender/Year	1718	1731	1735	1746
Total Wealth (Akçe)	Women	32,566	33,067	65,853	41,015
	Men	58,232	188,734	152,434	133,364
	Men/Women	1.8	5.7	2.3	3.3
Net Wealth (Akçe)	Women	32,290	31,372	64,306	39,865
	Men	43,661	159,714	80,902	109,485
	Men/Women	1.4	5.1	1.3	2.7

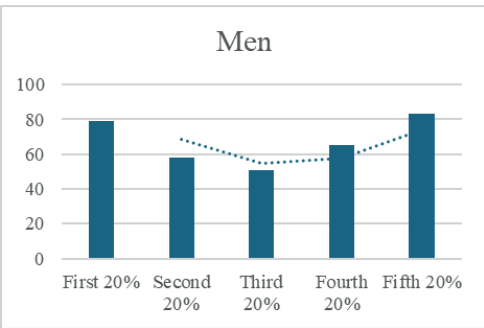
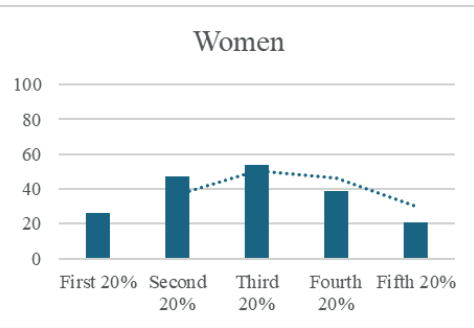
Sources: BOA, İŞS, Galata 241, Galata 242, Galata 273, Kısım-i Askeriye 80, Kısım-i Askeriye 91, Üsküdar 416; Eyüp Mahkemesi 138, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 163, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 175, ed. Yılmaz; Kısım-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59, ed. Yılmaz.

The net wealth gap was observed to be lower than expected. However, women still lag behind men when considering the average wealth in both datasets. Particularly in the years 1731 and 1746, this gap is significantly higher. In Table 7, the net wealth data, derived from a total of 523 estates, 336 belonging to men and 187 to women from the years 1717, 1718, 1719, 1730, 1731, 1734, 1735, 1736, 1745, and 1746, was adjusted for inflation and calculated in grams of silver. This analysis aims to reveal the wealth distribution among women and men across different wealth quintiles by utilizing the entire dataset.

Table 7. Percentage of Women and Men in the Wealth Quintiles of Net Wealth (Gram Silver)

Wealth Quintiles	First 20%	Second 20%	Third 20%	Fourth 20%	Fifth 20%
% of Women	24.8	44.8	51.4	37.5	20.2
% of Men	75.2	55.2	48.6	62.5	79.8

Sources: BOA, İŞS, Galata 241, Galata 242, Galata 273, Kısım-i Askeriye 80, Kısım-i Askeriye 91, Üsküdar 416; Eyüp Mahkemesi 138, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 163, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 175, ed. Yılmaz; Kısım-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59, ed. Yılmaz.



Graphs 1 and 2. Number of Men and Women by Wealth Quintile

Sources: BOA, İŞS, Galata 241, Galata 242, Galata 273, Kısım-i Askeriye 80, Kısım-i Askeriye 91, Üsküdar 416; Eyüp Mahkemesi 138, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 163, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 175, ed. Yılmaz; Kısım-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59, ed. Yılmaz.

Up to the third wealth quintile, the number of women increases. However, the number of women decreases again in the fourth and fifth quintiles as the level of wealth increases.

For men, the opposite trend is observed. The number of men decreases from the first (poorest) quintile to the third quintile but then increases progressively in the fourth and fifth (wealthiest) quintiles. Women tend to cluster in the middle wealth groups, whereas men are more prevalent in both the poorest and the wealthiest groups.

When examining the average wealth across the quintiles, it is observed that women have higher average wealth in the lowest two quintiles than men. However, this difference nearly equalizes in the third quintile and widens in favor of men in the wealthier quintiles. The results are presented in Table 8 below:

Table 8. Mean Wealth of Women and Men in the Wealth Quintiles of Net Wealth (Gram Silver)					
Gender	First 20%	Second 20%	Third 20%	Fourth 20%	Fifth 20%
Women	571.6	1459.1	2810.3	5401.8	26151.4
Men	-3155.8	1358.7	2837.3	6016.1	40308.2
All	-2232.8	1403.7	2823.4	5785.7	37449.6
Men/Women	0.2	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.5

Sources: BOA, İSS, Galata 241, Galata 242, Galata 273, Kısım-i Askeriye 80, Kısım-i Askeriye 91, Üsküdar 416; Eyüp Mahkemesi 138, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 163, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 175, ed. Yılmaz; Kısım-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59, ed. Yılmaz.

The average net wealth of men increases to 0.2, 0.9, 1.0, 1.1, and 1.5 times that of women's average net wealth, respectively. Due to the high levels of indebtedness among men, the average wealth in the lowest-income group is negative. There isn't a significant difference in the average net wealth between men and women, and women even appear to be in a more advantageous position in the lower-income groups. However, considering the total wealth, the inequality between men and women becomes much more pronounced. The average total wealth of men is 0.5, 1.3, 1.7, 2.5, and 3.2 times higher than that of women across the respective quintiles. Women still hold an advantage in the lowest quintile, but the gap widens towards the higher quintiles. In other words, the wealth gap between men and women increases more sharply in total wealth towards the wealthier groups. Given the net wealth figures presented in Table 8, women are more advantaged in the lower wealth groups, whereas men are more advantaged in the higher wealth groups, similar to the results achieved from total wealth analysis.

In addition to these conclusions, a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted to statistically analyze whether there is a significant difference in wealth levels between men and women. Initially, the analysis was conducted based on total wealth. If the total wealth figures for gender groups are statistically different, it indicates the existence of GWG. The test results yielded $U = 25159.500$ and $p < 0.001$, leading to the rejection of the H_{01} hypothesis. This means there is a statistically significant difference in total wealth between genders. In other words, the distribution of total wealth differs across gender categories. When analyzed in terms of net wealth, the p-value was found to be 0.431, meaning that the H_{02} hypothesis is

not rejected. Therefore, there is no statistically significant difference in net wealth between men and women.

Considering the relevant literature and the observed differences in high-wealth groups in terms of net wealth between genders, it is suggested that this result should be interpreted with caution. The differences in the outcomes of analyses based on total wealth and net wealth are thought to be influenced by indebtedness, as highlighted in previous assessments. For this reason, the relationship between gender and total debt was examined. When the relationship between debt (in akçe) and gender was evaluated using the Mann-Whitney U test, the results were $U = 48363.000$ and $p\text{-value} = 0.000$. Thus, the H_{03} hypothesis is rejected, indicating a significant difference in debt levels between genders. Similar results were obtained when the analysis was conducted in grams of silver ($U = 48372.000$ and $p\text{-value} = 0.000$). The p-values calculated in both akçe and grams of silver indicate that the differences in debt distributions between genders are statistically significant ($p < 0.05$). Furthermore, considering the group statistics, the average debt for women is 1,426 akçe/176.5 grams of silver, while for men, it is 33,071 akçe/4127.5 grams of silver. Given these results, it can be concluded that during the first half of the 18th century, a period marked by wars, economic crises, and financial turmoil, the high levels of indebtedness, particularly among men, reduced the net wealth gap between men and women. In other words, men's borrowing habits and coping mechanisms during economic crises may have narrowed the net wealth gap between genders during this period. How borrowing patterns and the economic conditions of the period affected the wealth gap by gender require further detailed examination, which will not be covered here since it exceeds the scope of this study.

The Sources and the Components of Women's Wealth

Based on the relevant literature and the analyses conducted, it has been statistically determined that there is a gender wealth gap (GWG) between men and women in terms of total wealth. However, the Mann-Whitney U test conducted for net wealth did not reveal a significant difference. Nevertheless, differences in net wealth between men and women, particularly in higher wealth groups, become apparent when examining the statistical data. This section will examine the sources and components of women's wealth to uncover clues that may explain this wealth disparity between men and women.

Some studies on the economic status of Ottoman women focus on their wealth and the sources that created this wealth. Saadet Maydaer categorizes these sources under four headings: Inheritance, mehr, grant (hibe), and personal income or career.⁴⁴ Instances of inherited assets being recorded in estate inventories are rare. They are usually recorded if

44 Saadet Maydaer, "Osmanlı Klâsik Döneminde Kadınların Servet Edinme Yolları (Bursa Örneği)," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 15/2 (2006), p. 30-46.

the inheritor has recently died or if the heir was too young (*sagîr or sagîre*) to receive their inheritance and died before they could take possession of their share. Three estates containing inherited assets were found as examples of this situation. One of these is the estate of a young girl. The entire estate, valued at 9,730 akçe, consists of an inheritance left by her deceased father, Abdurrahman Efendi.⁴⁵ In another example, Rukiye Hatun inherited 12,000 akçe from her deceased daughter from her first marriage, which was stated to be in the custody of her second husband.⁴⁶ The estate of Fatma Hatun, whose estate was recorded immediately after that of her deceased father, slave trader El-Hac Ali b. Ahmed also contains a share of 30,824 akçe from her father's inheritance and a house share valued at 72,000 akçe, which was also inherited from her father.⁴⁷

However, such records are rarely encountered in estate inventories. Moreover, it is not possible to statistically track how much of a person's wealth was obtained through inheritance from these records. However, in terms of inheritance, the fact that the share given to women is smaller than that given to men in most cases under Islamic (*ferâiz*) and customary inheritance law⁴⁸ leads to differences in the wealth inherited by women and men. In this case, it can be said that women, who have less inheritance rights, would inherit less wealth in comparison to men. Like inheritance, grants (*hibe*) are also rarely encountered because assets granted during a person's lifetime usually become part of their property, making it difficult to distinguish them from other estates.

Quantitative findings regarding income and wealth accumulated through income are also scarce, as these are not typically recorded in estate records. Additionally, professional titles, frequently encountered in men's estates, are not often found in women's estates. Only one record mentions Saliha bt. El-Hac Ahmed b. Ahmed, who was a bathhouse operator (*hamamî*). This woman's estate, with a total wealth of 53,932 akçe and net wealth of 41,812 akçe, includes 17,180 akçe in cash, a slave of Persian origin valued at 12,000 akçe, and a *mehr* valued at 10,000 akçe. The remaining 14,752 akçe consist of clothing, household items, and other possessions.⁴⁹ Due to the rarity of encountering professions in female estates, researchers often rely on the components of estates to estimate whether a woman was engaged in a profession or income-generating work. It is possible to trace indications related to income by noting whether the individual had a profession and assets associated with that profession, such as shops, trade goods, capital, or shares remaining with business partners. Three estates examined contained shops. One is a half-shop (*nısf dükkân*) valued at 8,000 akçe belonging to a non-Muslim woman named Doksa bt. Bato, who lived in Litros

45 BOA, İŞS, Galata 273, p. 15b-1.

46 BOA, İŞS, Galata 241, p. 24a-2.

47 BOA, İŞS, Kısmet-i Askeriye 91, p. 54b-1, 54b-2.

48 Akyılmaz, *İslâm ve Osmanlı Hukukunda*, p. 50-55.

49 BOA, İŞS, Galata 273, p. 14b-1.

village.⁵⁰ There is no indication of what kind of shop it was or whether it was operated by Doksa herself. Another example is a half-shop, valued at 6,000 akçe, also located in Litros village and owned by a non-Muslim woman named Hıristane bt. Yorgi.⁵¹ All assets recorded in this estate include a house, a half-shop, a half-vineyard, a cauldron, a barrel, and a hoe. Although this suggests the possibility of wine production, the lack of supporting data makes it difficult to reach a definitive conclusion. Lastly, Sâliha bt. Abdullah b. Abdurrahman owned two shops (one identified as an attar, the other unreadable).⁵² In all three cases, no items associated with the shops were recorded, suggesting that these women may have been shop owners but not operators.

In four separate estate inventories, some records suggest women might have been engaged in weaving. One record lists two linen combs, two bolts of cloth, four zirâ' (a unit of length) of thread, and some cotton thread.⁵³ Another inventory includes a spinning wheel, a cloth comb, a loom, some tow, three linen combs, and another spinning wheel.⁵⁴ A different record mentions eight zirâ' of thread, half a kıyye (a weight measure) of cotton thread, a loom, and a spinning wheel.⁵⁵ Lastly, another estate inventory includes a cloth comb, a linen comb, a spinning wheel, a loom, and 22 zirâ' of thread.⁵⁶ While it is evident that these women were engaged in spinning and weaving with the tools and materials they possessed, it is not possible to make a definite conclusion about whether this production was for household needs or for the market. Additionally, one estate inventory mentions fifteen bolts of cloth⁵⁷, and another references an olive grove and two gardens⁵⁸, which are noteworthy.

Although the examined estate inventories provide limited information about women's economic activities, many studies revealed that Ottoman women were present in almost

50 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 67 Eyüp Mahkemesi 163 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1147-1149 / M. 1734- 1736)*, project director M. Âkif Aydın, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, transcription Numan Yekeler, control M. Âkif Aydın-Mehmet Akman-Feridun M. Emecen-İdris Bostan-Mehmet İpşirli, Kültür AŞ, İstanbul 2019, p. 95-96 (20b-1). (Eyüp Mahkemesi 163)

51 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 71 Eyüp Mahkemesi 175 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1147-1149 / M. 1734- 1736)*, project director M. Âkif Aydın, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, transcription Rasim Erol-Mustafa Yılmaz, control M. Âkif Aydın-Mehmet Akman-Feridun M. Emecen-İdris Bostan-Mehmet İpşirli, Kültür AŞ, İstanbul 2019, p. 54 (3a-2). (Eyüp Mahkemesi 175)

52 *Eyüp Mahkemesi 175*, ed. Yılmaz, p. 172-173 (32a-1).

53 *Eyüp Mahkemesi 163*, ed. Yılmaz, p. 181-184 (44b-1).

54 *Eyüp Mahkemesi 175*, ed. Yılmaz, p. 301-303 (62a-1).

55 *İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 64 Kısım-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1143 / M. 1730-1731)*, project director M. Âkif Aydın, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, transcription Sabri Atay-Rasim Erol, control M. Âkif Aydın-Mehmet Akman-Feridun M. Emecen-İdris Bostan-Mehmet İpşirli, Kültür AŞ, İstanbul 2019, p. 488-489 (93a-2). (Kısım-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59)

56 BOA, İŞS, Kısım-i Askeriye 80, p. 91b-1.

57 *Kısım-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59*, ed. Yılmaz, p. 368-371 (66a-1).

58 *Kısım-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59*, ed. Yılmaz, p. 488-489 (93a-2).

every aspect of economic life and were involved in income-generating activities.⁵⁹ However, it is also estimated that a significant portion of women's economic activities remained unrecorded. In the classical Ottoman economy, where the family was the fundamental unit of production, as in many pre-modern societies, all members of the family, including women and children, played active roles in the economic activities, whether the primary source of income was agriculture, industry, or trade, thereby contributing to the family income and wealth, albeit informally.⁶⁰ In such cases, women's involvement in income-generating work contributed not to their individual wealth but to the family wealth (or, in some cases, family income). Moreover, since it is difficult to separate individual wealth from family wealth, it is challenging to ascertain the contribution of these activities to Ottoman women's individual wealth. Furthermore, it should be noted that the freedom of women living in İstanbul, which is the focus of this study, was more restricted than those living in rural areas.⁶¹ Although Islam does not prohibit women from engaging in trade or working independently, provided that gender privacy is observed, Muslim women's participation in economic activities could often be hindered by their limited ability to leave their harem freely and certain restrictions imposed by the state in public spaces.⁶² This situation might have impeded women in İstanbul from engaging in income-generating activities as actively as men, thereby contributing to the wealth gap between men and women. However, it should be noted that some women were able to circumvent these restrictions by using their servants or slaves, appointing relatives as representatives, or forming partnerships.⁶³ Additionally, it should not be forgotten that estate inventories tend to underrepresent women, non-Muslims, children, and those living in rural areas. Therefore, it must always be considered that the limited information obtained regarding women's income-generating economic activities that contributed to wealth accumulation may be due to these factors.

Among the four sources of wealth, the most clearly documented is “mehr,” which is also recorded as debt and credit in estate inventories. Mehr is “*the money or property the*

59 For the related literature and the subject of Ottoman women in economic life see Sema Keleş Yıldız, “Osmanlı Devleti’nde ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri’nde Ekonomik Yaşamda Kadın,” *Disiplinlerarası Yaklaşımlarla Kadın Çalışmaları 2*, ed. İnci Erdoğan Tarakçı, Efe Akademi Yayınları, İstanbul 2023, p. 351-391.

60 Kadriye Yılmaz Koca, *Osmanlı’da Kadın ve İktisat*, Beyan Yayınları, İstanbul 1998, p. 48-50.

61 Tiğınç Oktar, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Kadının Çalışma Yaşamı Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi*, Bilim Teknik Yayınevi, İstanbul 1998, p. 18-19.

62 Şefika Kurnaz, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul 1996, p. 132-133.

63 Ronald C. Jennings, “The Office of Vekil (Wakil) in 17th Century Ottoman Sharia Courts,” *Studia Islamica*, issue 42 (1975), p. 147-169; Ronald C. Jennings, “Women in Early 17th century Ottoman Judicial Records-The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 18/1 (1975), p. 53-114; Gerber, op. cit. p. 231-244; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam Ortaçağdan Yirminci Yüzyıla*, tran. Elif Kılıç, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, Ankara 1997; Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, “The Role of Women in the Urban Economy of İstanbul, 1700–1850,” *International Labor and Working Class History*, 60/60 (2001), p. 141– 152; Seven Ağır, “Nineteenth-Century Female Entrepreneurship in Turkey,” *Female Entrepreneurs in the Long Nineteenth Century: A Global Perspective*, ed. Jennifer Aston ve Cathrine Bishop, Palgrave Macmillan 2020, p. 405-432.

husband must pay his wife due to the marriage contract."⁶⁴ Typically, a portion of the mehr is paid upfront during the marriage contract, known as "muaccel mehr," while the remainder is deferred for later payment. This deferred part is called "müccel mehr," and it was usually recorded in estate inventories. However, for the mentioned reasons, rather than classifying based on the four mentioned sources, a classification has been made based on the components that constitute women's wealth. In this regard, the table below provides statistics on ten components of women's estates, including mehr and inheritance, as the records allow:

Table 9. The Components of Women's Wealth and Their Share in Total Wealth			
The Type of Asset	The Total Value of the Asset (Akçe)	The Share of Asset in Total Wealth %	The Percentage of Records that Consist of the Asset
The Share of the Clothes, Household Goods, and Others	3,925,174	49.3	98.9
The Share of the Jewelry and Valuables	1,779,569	22.4	76.0
The Share of the Real Estate	636,520	8.0	14.8
The Share of the Mehr	613,475	7.7	71.0
The share of the Receivables but Mehr	421,855	5.3	7.7
The Share of the Cash	265,065	3.3	13.7
The Share of the Slaves	247,940	3.1	6.0
The Share of Inherited Wealth	52,554	0.7	1.6
The Share of Books	12,130	0.2	4.4
The Share of Livestock and Cereals	3,665	0.05	1.6
Total	7,957,947	100	-
Sources: BOA, İŞS, Galata 241, Galata 242, Galata 273, Kismet-i Askeriye 80, Kismet-i Askeriye 91, Üsküdar 416; Eyüp Mahkemesi 138, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 163, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 175, ed. Yılmaz; Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59, ed. Yılmaz.			

As shown in Table 9, a significant portion of women's wealth consists of clothing and household items. Gradeva, as well as Establet and Pascual, made similar conclusions. Gradeva noted that household items constitute the majority of women's wealth, whereas Establet and Pascual, who examined the components of wealth in six categories, provided the following figures for Damascus at the beginning of the 18th century: household items 55.2%, jewels 21.5%, real estate 12%, outstanding debts 10%, and currency 1.8%.⁶⁵ In her study on İstanbul in the second half of the 17th century, Ş. Şule İyigönül Atasagun identified jewelry as the highest wealth component at 21%. However, since items such as household goods, clothing, fabrics, and looms, which are given in the same category in this study, are grouped separately in Atasagun's study, it is seen that these items have a higher proportion

64 Mehmet Akif Aydın, "Mehir," *DİA*, XXVIII, p. 389.

65 Gradeva, op. cit. p. 192; Establet-Pascual, op. cit. p. 305.

in total.⁶⁶ Similarly, data obtained from İstanbul inheritance records show that the category with the highest percentage at 49.3% is “The Share of the Clothes, Household Goods, and Others,” followed by jewelry, which is counted among liquid assets, at 22.4%. It should be noted that valuable household items made of silver, gold, and jewels are also included in the “Clothes, Household Goods, and Others” category since these items are typically found in the estates of very wealthy women. Jewelry is followed by mehr (7.7%), which could be considered another liquid asset. However, since mehr is only given to married women, it would be more accurate to evaluate the records that contain only mehr. When evaluating the inheritance records containing mehr, excluding those of singles, widows, non-Muslims, or those whose mehr had already been paid, the proportion of mehr increases to 10.6%. Mehr is followed by real estate at 8%. However, it is essential to consider that assets with high monetary value, such as real estate, slaves, and livestock, are present in far fewer estates. Particularly noteworthy is the small amount of real estate, even in the estates of the wealthy. In his study on wealth in 18th-century İstanbul, Muhammed Bedreddin Toprak draws attention to the limited presence of real estate in inheritance records, attributing this to the lack of unlimited private property in the early modern Ottoman Empire. He further argued that the fact that land in İstanbul was not easily tradable in the market limited private ownership and, consequently, the wealth reflected in inheritance records.⁶⁷ Furthermore, the double-rent (icâreteynli) properties mentioned by Ömer Lütfi Barkan as possible reasons for the incomplete reflection of total assets in estates may have also played a role.⁶⁸

When excluding clothing and household items and considering the low amount and proportion of cash in inheritance records, the importance of jewelry and mehr as liquid assets becomes evident for many women. Mehr and jewelry become more important in terms of their total value and presence in records, appearing in 71% and 76% of the records, respectively. It should also be mentioned that most records without mehr belong to widows and divorced women who already had their mehr. Several married women whose husbands were alive also did not have mehr in their inheritance records, which means it was already paid. Mehr being also a debt makes it a definite source of wealth for women. Because in the case of divorce (unless a woman waives her mehr as hul’ price for an uncontested divorce called “muhalaa”) or death, the mehr is considered a debt or a receivable that must be paid. These situations further underscore the significance of mehr for women overall.

The Profiles of the ‘Rich’ Women and a Title-Based Evaluation

Although women’s average levels of wealth are lower in comparison to men, there are extremely wealthy women within the wealthy class. Below are the profiles of the eight richest women whose wealth exceeds 200,000 akçes:

66 İyigönül Atasagun, op. cit. p. 285.

67 Toprak, op. cit. p. 118.

68 Barkan, op. cit. p. 75.

Table 10. Top Eight Wealthiest Women and Their Profiles								
Registry Nr. / Year	Name	Husband's Name	Father's Name	Place of Residence	Occupation If applicable	Total Wealth (Akçe)	Total Wealth (Gram Silver)	Net Wealth (Akçe)
KSM 80 / 1735	Fatma Hatun	Süleyman Ağa b. Abdurrahman	Deceased Ali Ağa	Elvanzade Neighborhood	-	705,146	87,438.104	703,946
GLT 241 / 1718	Rukiye Hatun	El-Hac Ömer Kapudan b. Osman	Abdurrahman b. Abdullah	Molla Çelebi Neighborhood	-	387,330	51,514.9	383,410
KSM 59 / 1730	Emine Hatun	Fahri'l-akrân Süleyman Ağa b. Abdurrahman	Master of the Janissaries Mehmed Emin Efendi	Molla Fenârî Neighborhood	-	354,210	43,922.04	354,210
KSM 59 / 1730	Aişe Hatun	El-Hâc Mahmud b. el-Hâc Veli	El-Hac Mustafa	El-Hâc Hüseyin Neighborhood	-	269,496	33,417.504	260,916
KSM 59 / 1731	Hatice Hatun	-	Abdullah	Karakî Hüseyin Çelebi Neighborhood	-	213,961	26,531.164	205,993
EYP 175 / 1745	Havvâ Hatun	İbrahim Ağa b. Hüseyin	Hasan Ağa b. Ali	Takıyecibaşı Neighborhood	-	212,689	25,735.369	212,689
KSM 80 / 1735	Salîha Hatun	Halil Ağa b. El-Hac İsmail Ağa	Mustafa Ağa	Arabacı Bayezid Neighborhood	-	211,225	26,191.9	211,225
KSM 80 / 1735	Zeynep Hanım	El-Hac Seyfullah Efendi b. Süleyman	Deceased Nişli Mehmed Ağa	Muhtesib Karagöz Neighborhood	-	209,870	26,023.88	207,175

Sources: BOA, İŞS, Galata 241, p. 24a-2; Kismet-i Askeriye 80, p. 75a-3, 85a-1, 88b-5; Eyüp Mahkemesi 175, ed. Yılmaz, p. 168-170; Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59, ed. Yılmaz, p. 229-232, 332-334, 425-427.

Sources: BOA, İŞS, Galata 241, p. 24a-2; Kismet-i Askeriye 80, p. 75a-3, 85a-1, 88b-5; Eyüp Mahkemesi 175, ed. Yılmaz, p. 168-170; Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59, ed. Yılmaz, p. 229-232, 332-334, 425-427.

As seen in Table 10, all the wealthy women are residents of the neighborhood, and there is no indication that any of these women were engaged in income-generating work. In addition, six out of the eight rich women are recorded in the Kismet-i Askeriye Registers, where members of the military/administrative class are documented. Table 10 also shows that the

fathers or husbands of seven of the eight wealthiest women hold military or religious titles. This result necessitated first examining the titles of these women's fathers and husbands, and then analyzing the components that constitute these women's wealth. However, before doing so, one should examine the titles given to women, even though these do not always clearly indicate the social strata to which they belong.

The titles used for women include *hatun*, *hanım*, *hâce*, and *şerife*. Among the eight richest women we examined, seven hold the title *hatun*, and one holds the title *hanım*. The title *hatun* could be used for someone connected to royalty or belonging to the upper class, as well as for women of respectable standing among the populace. İyigönül Atasağun, who found that most women married to titled men recorded in the Kismet-i Askeriye Registers held the title *hatun*, suggests that these women acquired this title due to their husbands' status.⁶⁹ When the entire inventories were examined, it was found that 114 women held the title *hatun*, 6 held both *şerife* and *hatun*, 1 held both *hâce* and *hatun*, 1 held the title *hanım*, and 66 women (including non-Muslims) had no title. The title *hatun* was the most frequently used, while other titles were rarely encountered. Therefore, a comparison was made between the average total wealth and average net wealth of women with the *hatun* title and those without a title. According to this comparison, women with the *hatun* title were 2.5 times wealthier in terms of total wealth and 2.6 times wealthier in terms of net wealth compared to women without a title. Additionally, a Mann-Whitney U test was conducted to determine whether there was a significant difference between the wealth of women with the *hatun* title and those without a title. The test results for total wealth yielded a U-value of 1824.000 and a p-value of 0.001. For net wealth, the results were a U-value of 1873.000 and a p-value of 0.002. Based on these results, the null hypothesis (H_{04}) is rejected for both total and net wealth. These results indicate that women with the title of *hatun* have significantly higher wealth levels.

In the inventories examined, Fatıma Hatun, the wealthiest woman, had both her father and husband holding the title *ağa*. The second wealthiest, Rukiye Hatun, while her father did not hold a title, her husband held both the title *el-hac* (pilgrim) and was noted as a captain. Considering the cost of going on a pilgrimage at that time, it can be inferred that those who had made the pilgrimage were of a certain economic status. However, it cannot be assumed that everyone holding the title *el-hac* was well-off, as individuals might have spent all their savings on this endeavor.⁷⁰ The husband of Emine Hatun, the third wealthiest woman, held the title *ağa*, while her father was identified as a *yeniçeri efendisi* (Janissary master). The fourth wealthiest, Aişe Hatun, had both her father and husband holding the title *el-hac*, while Hatice Hatun had no husband, and her father's name was recorded as Abdullah. This could

69 İyigönül Atasağun, op. cit. p. 94-95.

70 Suraiya Faroqhi, *Orta Halli Osmanlılar*, tran. Hamit Çalıışkan, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul (2009), p. 22-23.

imply that Hatice Hatun was a wealthy woman of slave origin. Both Havva Hatun and Saliha Hatun's husbands and fathers held the title *ağa*. Lastly, Zeynep Hanım's husband held both the titles *el-hac* and *efendi*, while her father held the title *ağa*.

The presence of military and religious titles among the husbands or fathers of the wealthy women in the inventories examined suggests a positive relationship between title groups and wealth. When examining the relationship between wealth and social groups, the prominence of the military class is noticeable in the studies conducted. Suraiya Faroqhi, for the late 16th and early 17th centuries, identifies the hierarchy of wealth with the military class at the top, followed by non-Muslims, and lastly, the majority of Muslims.⁷¹ Abraham Marcus, in his study on Aleppo in the 18th century, states that the basis of the esteemed positions held by prominent individuals often included at least one of the following attributes: wealth, official position, military power, religious profession, education, or noble lineage. These attributes were typically necessary and complementary for inclusion in the city's elite groups, such as the state, the military class, the ulema, merchants, and the *eşraf* (descendants of the Prophet Muhammad). The state rewarded these elite individuals with titles, honors, tax exemptions, and tax farms in recognition of their contributions to itself and Islam.⁷² This indicates a possible strong relationship between wealth, elite status, and titles. Indeed, there are studies suggesting that individuals holding military/administrative and judiciary/religious titles tend to have better wealth conditions.⁷³

Specifically, among those affiliated with military/administrative institutions, individuals with the title *ağa*, and among those affiliated with judiciary/religious institutions, individuals with the title *efendi* were identified in some studies as the wealthiest within their groups.⁷⁴ These titles are also prominent in the profiles of the eight wealthiest women examined. However, it is also important to note that not every member of the military class possessed significant wealth. The table below presents the numbers and percentages of women whose fathers and husbands held military/administrative titles, judiciary/religious titles, or no titles, according to wealth quintiles. Since the data pertain to different years, classification by net wealth in terms of grams of silver was used.

71 Faroqhi, *ibid.* p. 170.

72 Abraham Marcus, *Modernliğin Eşiğinde Bir Osmanlı Şehri Halep*, tran. Mehmet Emin Baş, Küre Yayınları, İstanbul 2013, p. 81.

73 Öztürk, *op. cit.*; Ergene-Berker, *op. cit.* p. 23-46.; Canbakal-Filiztekin, *Wealth and Inequality*; Canbakal-Filiztekin, *Wealth and Demography*, p. 94-127; Özer, *op. cit.* p. 43-59.

74 Ergene-Berker, *op. cit.* p. 25; Coşgel-Ergene, *op. cit.*, p. 317; Canbakal-Filiztekin, *Wealth and Inequality*, p. 15.

Table 11. Title of Fathers and Husbands according to Wealth Quintiles

Title Groups	First 20%	%	Second 20%	%	Third 20%	%	Fourth 20%	%	Fifth 20%	%
Military/ Administrative										
Fathers with title	0	0.0	1	2.6	0	0.0	0	0.0	6	18.9
Husbands with title	17	44.7	12	31.6	14	37.8	14	37.8	11	29.7
Judiciary/Religious										
Fathers with title	2	5.3	2	5.3	3	8.1	2	5.4	4	10.8
Husbands with title	4	10.5	9	23.7	9	24.3	11	29.7	13	35.1
Others*										
Fathers with no-title	36	94.7	32	84.2	33	89.2	31	83.8	17	48.6
Fathers with El-Hac	0	0	3	7.9	1	2.7	2	5.4	8	21.6
Fathers with Seyyid	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	2	5.4	0	0.0
Husbands with no-title	8	21.1	8	21.1	7	18.9	4	10.8	3	8.1
Husbands with El-Hac	0	0	3	7.9	2	5.4	4	10.8	4	10.8
Husbands with Seyyid	2	5.3	1	2.6	0	0	0	0.0	1	2.7
No Husband	7	18.4	5	13.2	5	13.5	4	10.8	5	13.5

Sources: BOA, İŞS, Galata 241, Galata 242, Galata 273, Kismet-i Askeriye 80, Kismet-i Askeriye 91, Üsküdar 416; Eyüp Mahkemesi 138, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 163, ed. Yılmaz; Eyüp Mahkemesi 175, ed. Yılmaz; Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59, ed. Yılmaz.

* In some records, the titles el-hac and seyyid belong to the same individual alongside a military or religious title. These individuals were counted among those with military and religious titles. Those who hold only the title of seyyid or solely the title of el-hac were considered under the others section.

The majority of fathers (79%) do not hold a title. Among those fathers who do have a title, the quintile with the highest concentration is the wealthiest fifth quintile. When examining the status of spouses, there is no upward trend toward the wealthiest quintile among those with military/administrative titles. However, the number of individuals with the title “ağa,” who are portrayed as the wealthiest within this group in the literature, increases towards the fifth quintile. The number of individuals with the “ağa” title from the lowest to the highest quintile is 1, 2, 4, 4, and 9, respectively. The number of individuals with judiciary/religious titles also increases towards the wealthiest quintile. Conversely, the number of those without titles appears to decrease. Generally, it can be said that the weight of women whose spouses and/or fathers hold titles increases towards the wealthiest quintile. In addition to interpreting these statistical values, the Kruskal-Wallis H test was conducted to determine whether there is a statistically significant difference among the title groups of women’s spouses and the wealth of the women. The test statistic for total wealth was 8.954 with a p-value of 0.030, and the test statistic for net wealth was 9.754 with a p-value of 0.021. Based on these results, the H_{05} and H_{06} hypotheses are rejected. In other words, at least one of these four groups differs from the others in terms of wealth. When comparing title groups pairwise, a significant

difference in wealth is found only between the “el-hac” and “no-title” groups. From these results, it can be concluded that women’s wealth is influenced more by different factors -such as the sources of their wealth- rather than by the social statuses of their spouses.

In the final section, the focus will be on the components that constitute the assets of the eight wealthiest women. Below, the components that make up the wealth of these wealthy women are presented in tabular form:

Components Group / Name	Fatima Hatun	Rukiye Hatun	Emine Hatun	Aiše Hatun	Hatice Hatun	Havva Hatun	Saliha Hatun	Zeynep Hanım	Total
The Share of the Clothes, Household Goods, and Others	395,986 (56.2%)	290,549 (75%)	142,770 (37.4%)	104,386 (38.7%)	29,266 (13.7%)	126,980 (59.7%)	80,805 (38.3%)	140,529 (67%)	1,311,271 (50.6%)
The Share of the Jewelry and Valuables	292,810 (41.5%)	72,181 (18.6%)	161,790 (42.4%)	96,070 (35.6%)	19,170 (9%)	67,709 (31.8%)	14,590 (6.9%)	36,581 (17.4%)	760,901 (29.4%)
The Share of the Real Estate	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
The Share of the Mehr	12,000 (1.7%)	12,000 (3.1%)	30,000 (7.9%)	36,000 (13.4%)	0	18,000 (8.5%)	20,000 (9.5%)	24,000 (11.4%)	152,000 (5.9%)
The share of the Receivables but Mehr	0	0	0	0	111,525 (52.1%)	0	43,200 (20.5%)	8,760 (4.2%)	120,328 (4.6%)
The Share of the Cash	0	0	23,236 (6.1%)	16,200 (6%)	2,400 (1.1%)	0	28,530 (13.5%)	0	70,366 (2.7%)
The Share of the Slaves	0	0	24,000 (6.3%)	16,840 (6.2%)	51,600 (24.1%)	0	24,100 (11.4%)	0	116,540 (4.5%)
The Share of Inherited Wealth	0	12,000 (3.1%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	12,000 (0.5%)
The Share of Books	4,350 (0.6%)	600 (0.2%)	0	0	0	0	0	0	4,950 (0.2%)
The Share of Livestock and/or Cereals	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	705,146 (100%)	387,330 (100%)	381,796 (100%)	269,496 (100%)	213,961 (100%)	212,689 (100%)	211,225 (100%)	209,870 (100%)	2,591,513 (100%)

Sources: BOA, İSS, Galata 241, p. 24a-2; Kismet-i Askeriye 80, p. 75a-3, 85a-1, 88b-5; Eyüp Mahkemesi 175, ed. Yılmaz, p. 168-170; Kismet-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59, ed. Yılmaz, p. 229-232, 332-334, 425-427.

The component that holds the largest share of the wealth of wealthy women is the “*The Clothes, Household Goods, and Others*” group. This group includes both insignificant items

and numerous valuable household items made of precious metals and jewels, as well as expensive fabrics and clothing. Jewelry ranks second, followed by the mehr in third place. The groups of receivables and slaves follow. However, it should be noted that only three women had receivables in their estates, and Hatice Hatun's receivable of 111,525 akçe from a single individual constitutes 52.1% of this item. Cash follows these items at a low rate of 2.7%. One woman's estate includes inheritance, and two women's estates include books. Although books are not commonly found in estates, they are particularly rare in women's estates. Among wealthy women, only two had books in their estates. One had a Mushaf-ı Şerif (a copy of the Quran) and six risales (treatises), while the other had a Mushaf. In total, books are found in eight estates, and most of the existing books are Qurans. Only the richest woman, Fatima Hatun, had *risales*, and Rukiye Hatun had the Birgili Risale.⁷⁵ These eight women, who represent approximately 4.3% of the total estate holders, control 32.6% of the total wealth of all women. This figure illustrates the extent of wealth among wealthy women and the inequality in wealth distribution within the group of women.

Conclusion Remarks

Focusing on the gender wealth gap (GWG) in 18th-century Ottoman İstanbul, this study examines women's wealth through the sources and components of their wealth, which are considered potential causes of the GWG. Moreover, the present study aims to identify the factors influencing wealth accumulation by analyzing the profiles of wealthy women with high levels of wealth. In addition, the relationship between title and wealth, which is examined in the literature to reveal the role of social status as one of the factors affecting wealth accumulation, is analyzed in this study with a special focus on women. Quantitative and qualitative findings obtained from the inheritance registers, which record individuals' wealth at the time of death, were evaluated, and statistical analyses were employed.

When examining wealth levels by gender, it was observed that in the high-wealth groups, women's wealth levels are lower than those of men in both total and net wealth. In low-wealth groups, women are much more advantaged, particularly in terms of net wealth. However, in high-wealth groups, inequalities shift against women. The limitations in the assets that constitute women's wealth likely have an impact on this. The fact that women receive a smaller share of inheritance in comparison to men within the framework of the Islamic inheritance law (*ferâiz*) may have contributed to their lower average wealth. However, a few points must be considered at this point. As emphasized by Gül Akyılmaz, the reason for women having fewer inheritance rights according to *ferâiz* rules is that men are responsible for the family's livelihood and have obligations such as the mehr and alimony. The absence of such a responsibility attributed to women in Islam, coupled with the principle of property

75 BOA, İŞS, Kısmet-i Askeriye 80, p. 75a-3; *Eyüp Mahkemesi* 163, ed. Yılmaz, p. 221-222 (55a-1).

separation between husband and wife in Islamic law, means that no matter how wealthy a woman is, she is not obligated to use her wealth, mehr, or any other source of income for family maintenance.⁷⁶ In this case, it can be argued that, in theory, each of a woman's wealth sources directly contributes to the accumulation of her wealth. However, as Fariba Zarinebaf also notes, although Islamic law legitimized women's property rights in many Muslim societies and opened the way for them to go to court to defend these rights, women were often forced to sell their belongings or renounce these rights under pressure from male relatives.⁷⁷ Furthermore, as Cemal Kafadar states, certain traditions favoring men and Ottoman customary law imposed narrower limits on women's property rights than Islamic law did.⁷⁸

When examining the situation in terms of income, which is another source, it can be argued that the impact of gender roles and social norms in the working life of women causes them to remain in the background and further limits their sources of wealth accumulation. In addition, as emphasized in Jane Whittle's comprehensive literature review, the active participation of women in the production of goods and services, both for household consumption and for the market, alongside men in pre-industrial societies should not be overlooked, in addition to their contributions to the family economy through unpaid "domestic work" such as household chores and childcare.⁷⁹ The fact that a large portion of the income women earned from economic activities during the relevant period contributed to the family economy likely prevented these contributions from having a quantitatively positive impact on their individual wealth.

Among the four sources mentioned, the mehr is the most easily identifiable source in women's estates. However, it should be noted that the mehr is recorded in estates as deferred (müeccel). Therefore, it is not possible to obtain from the estates the immediate portion of the mehr (muaccel) that was paid at the time of marriage and how and for what purpose women spent it. It is unclear at this point how women used their immediate mehr (investment, savings, starting a business, shopping, donations, etc.). Nevertheless, the importance of the mehr as a component of women's wealth is evident from the data. Unfortunately, the fact that the grant (hibe) cannot be identified in the inheritance records prevents any inference or estimation on this matter.

76 S. Gül Akyılmaz, "Osmanlı Miras Hukukunda Kadının Statüsü," *Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 11/1 (2007), p. 482.

77 Fariba Zarinebaf, "From Mahalle (Neighborhood) to the Market and the Courts Women, Credit, and Property in Eighteenth-Century İstanbul," *Across the Religious Divide Women, Property, and Law in the Wider Mediterranean (ca. 1300-1800)*, ed. Jutta Gisela Sperling and Shona Kelly Wray, Routledge 2010, p. 224.

78 Cemal Kafadar, "Tanzimat'tan Önce Selçuk ve Osmanlı Toplumunda Kadınlar," *Çağlar Boyu Anadolu'da Kadın Anadolu Kadınının 9000 Yılı*, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Anıtlar ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü, Ankara 1993, p. 192.

79 Jane Whittle, "A Critique of Approaches to 'Domestic Work': Women, Work and the Pre-Industrial Economy," *Past & Present*, 243/1 (2019), p. 35-70.

Given the results suggesting that the majority of women were not engaged in income-generating work, it can be stated that most of the wealth in the estates examined was obtained through inheritance, donations, and mehr. In addition, when evaluating women's titles and kinship profiles, the wealth of women with high wealth amounts is closely related to the social class to which they belong. The profiles of the wealthiest women examined in this study support this assumption. From the perspective of the components of women's wealth, highly valuable items, such as jewelry, slaves, valuable household goods, and clothing, which are found in large quantities in the estates of wealthy women and are thought to have been obtained through inheritance, gifts, or mehr, have a significant portion in the total. These items constituted a significant source of wealth accumulation for wealthy women due to their high value. On the other hand, the scarcity of valuable assets that could be converted into cash, invested, or could generate income within the wealth components of poor and middle-class women draws attention. In this context, it is thought that inequalities in inheritance law and women's limited participation in income-generating activities due to sociocultural norms, laws, and administrative regulations compared to men resulted in limited wealth sources for women, thereby restricting their wealth accumulation. Consequently, it is thought that the more limited wealth accumulation sources of women, particularly income, in comparison to men, played an effective role in creating a GWG between women and men in high-wealth groups.

The purpose of focusing on the GWG in this study is to provide a more comprehensive understanding of gender roles within Ottoman society, women's position in economic life, and their ability to accumulate wealth within the context of socio-cultural norms, legal rules, and institutions that could impact the GWG. Therefore, this study aims to offer deeper insight into the social and economic structure of the Ottoman Empire regarding gender. It is also hoped that this study will provide historical insights that can present new perspectives for future research on gender-based wealth disparity, which remains a global problem today.

Peer-review: Externally peer-reviewed.

Conflict of Interest: The author has no conflict of interest to declare.

Grant Support: The author declared that this study has received no financial support.

Hakem Değerlendirmesi: Dış bağımsız.

Çıkar Çatışması: Yazar çıkar çatışması bildirmemiştir.

Finansal Destek: Yazar bu çalışma için finansal destek almadığını beyan etmiştir.

References/Kaynakça

Archival Sources

T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı Osmanlı Arşivi (Presidency of the Republic of Turkey Directorate of State Archives Ottoman Archives) (BOA):

İSTM İstanbul Müftülüğü, İSTM.ŞSC.14.d. Şeriye Sicil Defterleri_14 Galata Mahkemesi Sicil Numbers: 241; 242 and 273.

İSTM İstanbul Müftülüğü, İSTM.ŞSC.05.d Şeriye Sicil Defterleri_5 Kısım-i Askeriye Mahkemesi Sicil Numbers: 80 and 91.

İSTM İstanbul Müftülüğü, İSTM.ŞSC.06.d. Şeriye Sicil Defterleri_6 Üsküdar Mahkemesi Sicil Number: 416.

Transcribed Archival Sources

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 61 Eyüp Mahkemesi 138 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1129-1131 / M. 1717- 1718), project director M. Âkif Aydın, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, transcription Sinan Satar-Salih Kahrıman, control M. Âkif Aydın-Mehmet Akman-Feridun M. Emecen-İdris Bostan-Mehmet İpşirli, Kültür AŞ, İstanbul 2019. (Eyüp Mahkemesi 138)

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 67 Eyüp Mahkemesi 163 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1147-1149 / M. 1734- 1736), project director M. Âkif Aydın, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, transcription Numan Yekeler, control M. Âkif Aydın-Mehmet Akman-Feridun M. Emecen-İdris Bostan-Mehmet İpşirli, Kültür AŞ, İstanbul 2019. (Eyüp Mahkemesi 163)

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 71 Eyüp Mahkemesi 175 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1147-1149 / M. 1734- 1736), project director M. Âkif Aydın, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, transcription Rasim Erol-Mustafa Yılmaz, control M. Âkif Aydın-Mehmet Akman-Feridun M. Emecen-İdris Bostan-Mehmet İpşirli, Kültür AŞ, İstanbul 2019. (Eyüp Mahkemesi 175)

İstanbul Kadı Sicilleri 64 Kısım-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59 Numaralı Sicil (H. 1143 / M. 1730-1731), project director M. Âkif Aydın, ed. Coşkun Yılmaz, transcription Sabri Atay-Rasim Erol, control M. Âkif Aydın-Mehmet Akman-Feridun M. Emecen-İdris Bostan-Mehmet İpşirli, Kültür AŞ, İstanbul 2019. (Kısım-i Askeriye Mahkemesi 59)

Other References

Ağır, Seven, “Nineteenth-Century Female Entrepreneurship in Turkey,” *Female Entrepreneurs in the Long Nineteenth Century: A Global Perspective*, ed. Jennifer Aston ve Cathrine Bishop, Palgrave Macmillan 2020, p. 405-432.

Akyılmaz, Gül, *İslâm ve Osmanlı Hukukunda Kadının Statüsü*, Göksu Ofset-Matbaa ve Mücellithane, Konya 2000.

Akyılmaz, S. Gül, “Osmanlı Miras Hukukunda Kadının Statüsü,” *Ankara Hacı Bayram Veli Üniversitesi Hukuk Fakültesi Dergisi*, 11/1 (2007), p. 471-502.

Altay, Bora-Koray Göksal-Hande Nur Kırmızıkuşak, “The Wealth of Ottoman Individuals by Different Socio-Economic Groups, 1650-1918: A Descriptive Analysis in the Context of Institutional Change,” *Süleyman Demirel Üniversitesi Vizyoner Dergisi*, 13/33 (2022), p. 236-253.

Atar, Fahrettin, “Tedbir,” *DİA*, XL, p. 258-259.

Aydın, Mehmet Akif, “Mehir,” *DİA*, XXVIII, p. 389-391.

- Barbir, Karl, "Wealth, Privilege and Family Structure: The Askarîs of 18th Century Damascus according to the Qassam Askarî Inheritance Records," *The Syrian Land in the 18th and 19th Century, The Common and The Specific in the Historical Experience*, ed. Thomas Philipp, Stuttgart 1992, p. 179-195.
- Barkan, Ömer Lütfi, "Edirne Askeri Kassamı'na Ait Tereke Defterleri (1545-1659)", *Belgeler*, 3/5-6 (1966), p. 1-479.
- Başarır, Özlem, "Statü-Servet İlişkisi Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme," *History Studies*, 3/3 (2011), p. 49-67.
- Bayerle, Gustav, *Pashasi Begs, and Effendis: A Historical Dictionary of Titles and Terms in the Ottoman Empire*, The Isis Press, İstanbul 1997.
- Bozkurt, Fatih, *Tereke Defterleri ve Osmanlı Maddî Kültüründe Değişim (1785-1875 İstanbul Örneği)*, Sakarya University Social Sciences Institute, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Sakarya 2011.
- Canbakal, Hülya, "Reflections on the Distribution of Wealth in Ottoman Ayntab," *Oriens*, volume 37 (2009), p. 237-252.
- Canbakal, Hülya-Alpay Filiztekin, "Wealth and Inequality in Ottoman Lands in the Early Modern Period," *Rice University Conference on the Political Economy of the Muslim World*, 4-5 April 2013.
- Canbakal, Hülya-Alpay Filiztekin, "Wealth and Demography in Ottoman Probate Inventories: A database in very long-term perspective," *Historical Methods*, 54/2 (2021), p. 94-127.
- Ceylan, Pınar, "Tracing A 'Middle Class': An Inquiry on the Ottoman City of Kayseri 17th and 18th Centuries," Sabancı University Graduate School of Art and Social Science, Unpublished Master's Thesis, İstanbul 2010.
- Cezar, Yavuz, "Bir Âyan'ın Muhallefatı Havza ve Köprü Kazaları Ayamı Kör İsmail-Oğlu Hüseyin (Musadere Olayı ve Terekenin İncelenmesi)," *Belleten*, 41/161 (1977), p. 41-78.
- Coşgel, Metin-Boğaç A. Ergene, "Inequality of Wealth in the Ottoman Empire: War, Weather, and Long-Term Trends in Eighteenth-Century Kastamonu," *The Journal of Economic History*, 72/2 (2012), p. 308-331.
- Deere, Carmen Diana-Cheryl R. Doss, "The Gender Asset Gap: What Do We Know and Why Does It Matter?" *Feminist Economics*, 12/1-2 (2008), p. 1-50.
- Denton, Margaret-Linda Boos, "The Gender Wealth Gap: Structural and Material Constraints and Implications for Later Life," *Journal of Women & Aging*, 19/3-4 (2008), p. 105-120.
- Dörtok Abacı, Zeynep-Jun Akiba-Metin Coşgel-Boğaç Ergene, "Judiciary and Wealth in the Ottoman Empire, 1689–1843," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 66/1-2 (2023), p. 43-84.
- Ergene, Boğaç A.-Ali Berker, "Wealth and Inequality in 18th-Century Kastamonu: Estimations for the Muslim Majority," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 40/1 (2008), p. 23-46.
- Establet, Colette-Jean-Paul Pascual-André Raymond, "La mesure de l'inegalite dans la societe Ottomane: Utilisation de l'indice de Gini pour Le Caire et Damas vers 1700," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 37/2 (1994), p. 171-182.
- Establet, Colette-Jean-Paul Pascual, "Women in Damascene Families Around 1700," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 45/3 (2002), p. 301-319.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya, *Osmanlı Kültürü ve Gündelik Yaşam Ortaçağdan Yirminci Yüzyıla*, tran. Elif Kılıç, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, Ankara 1997.
- Faroqhi, Suraiya, *Orta Halli Osmanlılar*, tran. Hamit Çalışkan, Türkiye İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, İstanbul 2009.

- Faroqhi, Suraiya, *Osmanlı Dünyasında Üretmek, Pazarlamak, Yaşamak*, Yapı Kredi Yayınları, tran. Gül Çağalı Güven-Özgür Türesay, İstanbul 2003.
- Gerber, Haim, "Social and economic position of women in an Ottoman city, Bursa, 1600-1700," *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 12/3 (1980), p. 231-244.
- Göçek, Fatma Müge-Marc David Baer, "18. Yüzyıl Galata Kadı Sicillerinde Osmanlı Kadınlarının Toplumsal Sınırları," *Modernleşmenin Eşiğinde Osmanlı Kadınları*, ed. Madeline C. Zilfi, Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, İstanbul 2000, p. 47-62.
- Gradeva, Rossitsa, "Towards a Portrait of 'The Rich' in Ottoman Provincial Society: Sofia in the 1670s," *Provincial Elite in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Antonis Anastasopoulos, Crete University Press, Rethymno 2005, p. 149-199.
- Hathaway, Jane, "The Wealth and Influence of an Exiled Ottoman Eunuch in Egypt: The Waqf Inventory of 'Abbās Agha," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 37/4 (1994), p. 293-317.
- Hinz, Walter, *İslâm'da Ölçü Sistemleri*, tran. Acar Sevim, Marmara Üniversitesi Yayınları, İstanbul 1990.
- Işığık, Erkan, *Altı Sigma Kara Kuşaklar İçin Hipotez Testleri Yol Haritası*, Sigma Center Yönetim Sistemleri, Bursa 2005.
- İnalçık, Halil, "15. Asır Türkiye İktisadi ve İctimai Tarihi Kaynakları," *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, 15/1-4 (1953-54), p. 51-75.
- İyigönül Atasagun, Ş. Şule, *17. Yüzyıl İkinci Yarısında Terekelere Göre İstanbul Kadınlarının Serveti (1656-1676 Yılları)*, Graduate School of İstanbul Medeniyet University, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, İstanbul 2023.
- Jennings, Ronald C., "The Office of Vekil (Wakil) in 17th Century Ottoman Sharia Courts," *Studia Islamica*, issue 42 (1975), p. 147-169.
- Jennings, Ronald C., "Women in Early 17th century Ottoman Judicial Records-The Sharia Court of Anatolian Kayseri," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 18/1 (1975), p. 53-114.
- Kafadar, Cemal, "Self and Others: The Diary of a Dervish in Seventeenth Century İstanbul and First-Person Narratives in Ottoman Literature," *Studia Islamica*, issue 69 (1989), p. 121-150.
- Kafadar, Cemal, "Tanzimat'tan Önce Selçuk ve Osmanlı Toplumunda Kadınlar," *Çağlar Boyu Anadolu'da Kadın Anadolu Kadınının 9000 Yılı*, T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı Anıtlar ve Müzeler Müdürlüğü, Ankara 1993.
- Karababa, Eminegül, "Investigating Early Modern Ottoman Consumer Culture in the light of Bursa Probate Inventories," *The Economic History Review*, 65/1 (2012), p. 194-219.
- Karagöz, Mehmet, "Ayıntab (Antep) A'yanı es-Seyyid el-Hac Mehmed Ağa bin es-Seyyid Battal Ağa'nın Terekesi," *Fırat Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi*, 19/2 (2009), p. 315-328.
- Karataş, Ali İhsan, "XVIII. Yüzyılda Bursa Halkının Ekonomik Yapısı," *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 15/2 (2006), p. 231-264.
- Keleş Yıldız, Sema, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde ve Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde Ekonomik Yaşamda Kadın," *Disiplinlerarası Yaklaşımlarla Kadın Çalışmaları 2*, ed. İnci Erdoğan Tarakçı, İstanbul: Efe Akademi Yayınları, İstanbul 2023, p. 351-391.
- Kurnaz, Şefika, *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*, Milli Eğitim Basımevi, İstanbul 1996.
- Marcus, Abraham, *Modernliğin Eşiğinde Bir Osmanlı Şehri Halep*, tran. Mehmet Emin Baş, Küre Yayınları, İstanbul 2013.

- Maydaer, Saadet, “Osmanlı Klâsik Döneminde Kadınların Servet Edinme Yolları (Bursa Örneği),” *Uludağ Üniversitesi İlahiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, 15/2 (2006), p. 30-46.
- Öktar, Tiginçe, *Osmanlı Toplumunda Kadının Çalışma Yaşamı Osmanlı Kadınları Çalıştırma Cemiyet-i İslamiyesi*, Bilim Teknik Yayınevi, İstanbul 1998.
- Özcan, Tahsin, “Muhallefat,” *DİA*, XXX, p. 405-406.
- Özdeğer, Hüseyin, *1463-1640 Yılları Bursa Şehri Tereke Defterleri*, İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Yayını, İstanbul 1988.
- Özer, Emre, “Osmanlı’da Unvanların Servet Üzerine Etkileri: Merkez ve Taşra Karşılaştırması (1800-1840),” *Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Dergisi*, 3/2 (2018), p. 43-59.
- Öztürk, Sait, *İstanbul Tereke Defterleri*. OSAV, İstanbul 1995.
- Pamuk, Şevket, *İstanbul ve Diğer Kentlerde 500 Yıllık Fiyatlar ve Ücretler*, T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü, Ankara 2000.
- Ruel Erin-Robert M. Hauser, “Explaining the Gender Wealth Gap,” *Demography*, 50/4 (2013), p. 1155-1176.
- Sahillioğlu, Halil, *Bir Asırlık Osmanlı Para Tarihi 1640-1740*, İstanbul University Social Sciences Institute, Unpublished Associate Professorship Thesis, İstanbul 1965.
- Schneebaum, Alyssa-Miriam Rehm-Kathrina Mader-Katarina Hollan, “The Gender Wealth Gap Across European Countries,” *The Review of Income and Wealth*, 64/2 (2018), p. 295-331.
- Sierminska, Eva-Daniela Piazzalunga-Markus M. Grabka, “Transitioning Towards More Equality? Wealth Gender Differences and the Changing Role of Explanatory Factors Over Time,” *Working Paper*, SOEP Papers on Multidisciplinary Panel Data Research, No.1050, Deutsches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung (DIW), Berlin 2019.
- Tabakoğlu, Ahmet, *Osmanlı Mâli Tarihi*, Dergâh Yayınları, İstanbul 2016.
- Toprak, Muhammet Bedrettin, “Osmanlı İstanbulu’nda Demografi, Servet ve Eşitsizlik: 18. Yüzyıl Tereke Defterlerinden Bir Analiz,” Marmara University Social Sciences Institute, Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, İstanbul 2022.
- Tülüveli, Güçlü, “Honorific Titles in Ottoman Parlance: A Reevaluation,” *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 11/1-2 (2005), p. 17-27.
- Wang Lee, Angela, “The Gender Wealth Gap in the United States: Trends and Explanations,” *Social Science Research*, issue 107 (2022), p. 1-19.
- Whittle, Jane, “A Critique of Approaches to ‘Domestic Work’: Women, Work and the Pre-Industrial Economy,” *Past & Present*, 243/1 (2019), p. 35-70.
- Yılmaz Koca, Kadriye, *Osmanlı’da Kadın ve İktisat*, Beyan Yayınları, İstanbul 1998.
- Zarinebaf, Fariba, “From Mahalle (Neighborhood) to the Market and the Courts Women, Credit, and Property in Eighteenth-Century İstanbul,” *Across the Religious Divide Women, Property, and Law in the Wider Mediterranean* (ca. 1300-1800), ed. Jutta Gisela Sperling and Shona Kelly Wray, Routledge 2010, p. 224-237.
- Zarinebaf-Shahr, Fariba, “The Role of Women in the Urban Economy of İstanbul, 1700–1850,” *International Labor and Working Class History*, 60 /60 (2001), p. 141– 152.

